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McCARRAN STANDS ALONE—page 10

New Republic

PAUL H. DOUGLAS on THE FIGHT ON THE FILIBUSTER

THE SENATE CONSIDERS McCARTHY

FASCISM RETURNS TO ITALY

Reviews by . . .

David Riesman on *THE NATURE OF CULTURE*

Kathleen Raine on *ANATHEMATA*

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JAN 8 1953

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Letters

Revolt in South Africa

● . . . By now well over 6,000 non-violent resisters against the unjust racial laws of the Malan government have been arrested. This means not only suffering in the overcrowded jails of South Africa, but it also means an even greater economic hardship on a really impoverished people. The African National Congress is raising as large a fund as possible to help allay the economic needs of the families of the volunteers who are being arrested in order that some food might be procured while the breadwinner is incarcerated.

We have formed a committee which is called Americans for South African Resistance, 513 West 166th Street, New York 32. The co-chairmen are the Reverend Donald Harrington and the Reverend Charles Y. Trigg. Among the sponsors are Roger Baldwin, Mordecai Johnson, Norman Thomas, Charles S. Johnson, A. J. Muste. We are sending funds to help the South African resisters. We would be glad to send any money on to South Africa that comes to us or to supply the name of the contact person in South Africa to those who would like to send funds directly.

New York City GEORGE M. HOUSER

The Novels of Joyce Cary

● For some time I have been disturbed by the superficiality of American criticism of the novels of Joyce Cary. And it seems to me that none has been more inept than Isaac Rosenfeld's review of *Prisoner of Grace* in the October 20 issue of the *New Republic*, a magazine that I generally admire. Not only is the question of why Joyce Cary is a best seller unimportant, but Mr. Rosenfeld seems to have completely misunderstood both the substance and the quality of Mr. Cary's writing. . . .

Mr. Rosenfeld misses the truth that Joyce Cary's people are real. They do not "grow old and fall apart." There are more than "moments" in which they catch fire, and they are not "consumed" by rheumatism alone. Gulley Jimson is a case in point. Gulley is *not* shown "in complete decrepitude, on the eve of insanity and death." One of the main themes in Cary's novels is that only through imagination does man achieve freedom. . . . In the end of *The Horse's Mouth,* [Gulley] departed in an ambulance, presumably to heaven, for he had been painting the *Creation* on the condemned wall of an old chapel and, during his fall, he had seen angels. Seldom does one find such symbolism as this in contemporary literature. Gulley was neurotic because he was unappreciated by men of his time. He had lived out of his time. I do not believe that I read Joyce Cary to have my "masochism confirmed."

In a letter to me, postmarked Oxford and dated November 10, Mr. Cary wrote, regarding *Prisoner of Grace:*

> It is quite true that most of the reviewers have missed the point of the book, which is to show the whole political world, not only as commonly restricted to parliaments and congresses, but as it works in marriage and the nursery, in all human relations; that is to say it is a study of another aspect of that world which has been imposed upon us by freedom, individuality and the necessary isolation of the individual in a free world.

And then Cary adds: "I am not defending the woman [Nina]. I put her in a certain position only because I am dealing with a real world and not that which is supposed to be run on slogan."

Obviously, there is another reason for *Prisoner of Grace* appearing on the best-seller list. The United States is at the present time politically conscious. And Mr. Gray deals with universals. Maybe Mamie confronts some of the same problems Nina did! . . .

RUTH G. VAN HORN
Western Michigan University

● I am sorry I cannot agree with Ruth Van Horn about Joyce Cary. I was concerned for the most part with the question of his extraordinary public appeal, and the statements I made about his characters, that they grow old and fall apart and suffer from rheumatism and other miseries, were not made in derogation, either of him or of them, but simply in wonder that such characters should be so well received by a mass audience. I had in mind the sort of thing that usually wins a following; so, if you like, it's a credit to Mr. Cary that his popularity is based on so few concessions. But beyond this and the statement, which I made in my review, about his "part-time seriousness and even excellence as a writer," I am very sorry to say I cannot go.

There is a belief, in American folklore, that there's always a lot of room at the top. This is not true where literature is concerned. Most critics, with their inflated vocabularies of praise for writers of Joyce Cary's stature, have made it very crowded at the top for Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Cervantes, James Joyce, Flaubert and the other novelists who really belong there.

Minneapolis, Minn. ISAAC ROSENFELD

Keeping Stevenson Going

● By all means! Let's put Stevenson on the air! My family would be glad to make monthly contributions for the next four years. . . .

Stevenson on the air seems to me to be very urgent. There are issues to be covered, but in addition to that there is the necessity to improve the moral tone and education of our people.

Some issues soon to come up:

(1) Tidewater oil lands. . . . (2) Taxes. For many years the National Association of Manufacturers has been pushing for a Federal Sales Tax on consumers thereby allowing for a reduction of rates in the higher-income tax brackets. . . . If the ability to pay principle is still a good principle, which I think it is, the Federal Sales Tax would be an aggressive attack on such principle. (3) Thought control. The forces that would control thought and education have been rapidly gaining strength. . . .

If there is any one thing for which I would criticize the Administration now coming to a close, it is that of not leading the nation in moral tone. It is no accident that corruption has been uncovered in Washington. We have it, too, in many of our state and local governments. Business, big and little, does not escape this malady. In short, we have something that is closely akin to what has been described as "our racket society." This is an ugly term but so close to the truth

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Happy New Year!

Sen. Owen Brewster formally notified Maine's Secretary of State today that he wanted to resign Dec. 31 instead of Jan. 2 so that his pension would begin in January instead of February. . . .

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

—*From the New York* Times

Hardly Chivalrous

In a sparkling horse show last night Wing Commander, a brilliant nine-year-old chestnut stallion owned by Dodge Stable, Lexington, Ky., won the blue ribbon in the $500 stake for five-gaited geldings. —*From a UP* dispatch.

Understandable

Actor Robert Cummings was sought today because a deputy sheriff said the film star assaulted him with an automobile.

. . . Admitting the incident, Cummings explained:

"I thought at the time he was an autograph seeker." —*From the Los Angeles* Mirror.

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New Republic

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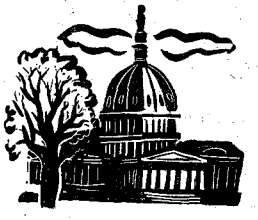
WASHINGTON WIRE

ON DEC. 21, 1945, Sen. Joseph McCarthy's debt to the Appleton (Wis.) State Bank was $169,540 and his Washington checking account was overdrawn. His financial condition was "quite desperate," says the unanimous three-man Senate subcommittee report just published. His Wisconsin bank debt was "in flagrant disregard for the state banking laws." What did he do?

McCarthy was a member of the Senate Banking Committee, the supervisor of RFC loans —among others to the floundering Lustron Corp., makers of prefabricated houses. Lustron suddenly paid McCarthy $10,000 for a manuscript on housing which, says the report, "was neither finished nor in publishable form." The acceptance of "this $10,000 fee," says the report, "would appear to have been highly improper, to say the least."



Did he use the $10,000 to reduce his loan? No. A Senator, it appears, has access to tips, hot tips that can be turned to cash. The Seaboard Airline Railroad was also indebted to RFC—for more than $15 million. From his place on the Banking Committee, asks the report, did McCarthy have "confidential information relating to the stock?" The stock was then a drug on the market at $21 a share. But McCarthy was on the inside; not only did he invest the Lustron "fee" in Seaboard stock but advised friends to get in. Everything depended on the RFC. Ultimately the RFC disposed of Seaboard holdings, and the value jumped. McCarthy got 1,700 shares under his control; in September, 1951, he sold 1,000 with a profit of $35,614.

In 1947 McCarthy's financial position was still precarious. Where could he turn? McCarthy was also on a Banking subcommittee on sugar. It seemed providential! The Department of Agriculture advocated continued controls on sugar; the big makers of sweetened soft drinks fought controls. For example, there was Pepsi-Cola—it denounced the Army's purchase of Cuban sugar. So on December 5 or 6, 1947, McCarthy "hurriedly consulted with Russell M. Arundel," Pepsi-Cola's Washington representative (lobbyist) telling him of his "financial predicament." What a friend! Arundel indorsed a $20,000 six-months' note, and the day after the note was signed McCarthy made a "special appearance to interrogate the Army Secretary" on this very purchase of Cuban sugar which Pepsi-Cola denounced.

Did McCarthy have a tip on the soybean market? Between October, 1950, and January, 1951, McCarthy plunged heavily. The Commodity Exchange Authority, Department of Agriculture, had just conducted an investigation of alleged soybean market manipulation, involving, among others, a number of Chinese traders. The subcommittee asks, "Did Senator McCarthy have confidential information with respect to the trend of the soybean future market?" He cleared $17,354 up to January 2, 1951.

The Senate gave a 60-to-0 vote of confidence to the Hennings Subcommittee. The latter asked McCarthy six times to come before it and explain these and a dozen other sinister-sounding episodes. McCarthy said "No." He "deliberately set out to thwart investigation of him" by charges of "smear" and "Communist-inspired persecution," the subcommittee says. Now the committee passes the buck to the Senate. It is a matter, it declares, "which goes to the very core of the Senate body's authority, integrity and the respect in which it is held by the people of this country."

The subcommittee report was issued late Friday afternoon, January 2. Next day the Senate reassembled. On the basis of this extraordinary compilation would the newly elected McCarthy be seated? McCarthy was present everywhere on

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the floor, laughing and back-slapping. When his name was called to take the oath there was a hush. Nothing happened. The cowed Senate sat mute. Nobody uttered the words, "I object."

In the movie *High Noon* Gary Cooper acts the Sheriff who vainly appeals for help to meet a returned killer. He appealed to the church—in vain. Well, if the Hennings' Subcommittee report had been an official Afghanistan text on milk-weed the sacrosanct NY *Times* would have printed it in full. It only printed a column of the Hennings' report, however, as reporters complained that it was "400 pages" long. Actually, it was 52 pages—plus a documented index. The *Herald-Tribune* printed a story twice as long as the *Times*. Little help here.

Gary Cooper didn't get help from the community, either. And how can the US press attack McCarthy now when it backed Ike 80 percent and Ike backed McCarthy? It is true—Ike deplored McCarthy's methods. This is rather funny. The methods are the man; it is like backing Hitler but deploring Hitler's gassing the Jews.

Many and many a time we have reassured apprehensive visiting European journalists not to worry over America's "hysteria." But when the Marine Corps, that proud and magnificent institution, granted McCarthy combat medals last week it was at that moment that we had a real shudder of fear. Now McCarthy is aiming at the colleges. Harvard, Smith, California—the long list is ready, alumni will be roused, education authorities bulldozed. It is militant anti-intellectualism, the professor substituted as target for the diplomat. Who will rally to stop the killer? Not Congress! McCarthy has knocked off LaFollette, Tydings, Benton; the rest will hide under the bar. Some will lift their voices; this magazine will. But who else will aid the sheriff? Stop a bit; instead of fearing the sheriff, McCarthy *is* the sheriff. Republican victory makes him head of the top Senate police committee. What killings lie ahead for McCarthy, to be sure, in the colleges—and the stock market!

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

that is it any wonder that there have been eruptions in Washington? We need to return to sane and honest relationships.

Cornville, Ariz. G. W. ASHER

● First I wish to enter my pledge of $1 per month at least until 1956 for Mr. Stevenson's election. This is an excellent idea, I believe, as it should keep liberals on the ball—they have been notorious for their lack of interest in anything outside of talking.

Second, I would like to tell Alan E. Price (*NR* Dec. 22, 1952) that he may be a new subscriber, and a liberal to his way of thinking, but I certainly doubt that he has actually read the *New Republic*. Only very obtuse people could read the *New Republic* constantly and then still vote for Eisenhower and Nixon. In my circle of acquaintances the only people who have ever stated that Lodge, Warren, Driscoll, etc., were real liberals, have been Republicans.

I would also like to take exception to Mr. Alphonsus Murphy's statement that "In the normal course of things he [Stevenson] will be before us in his own normal way." From evidence presented by this last election, he would NOT be before us at all unless we all make some effort to get him there and keep him there. Surely the Republicans don't intend to buy time on radio and TV for Mr. Stevenson.

Oakland, Calif. BARBARA W. SLOAN

[Listed below are names of others who are willing to contribute to a fund to keep Stevenson on radio and television.—THE EDITORS.]

Mrs. Signe Burckhardt, Minneapolis, Minn.; Jean Chadwick, San Francisco, Calif.; Richard C. Fletcher, Burlingame, Calif.; Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Fox, Elkins Park, Pa.; Virginia Harbin, Brookhaven, Ga.; Corrine Hardesty, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. J. B. Jackson, Russellville, Ky.; R. M. Lano, New York, N .Y.; A/1C Charles F. Martin, c/o PM, San Francisco, Calif.; Elizabeth Stone, National City, Calif.

Elmer Davis

● I am entirely sympathetic with the movement to raise a fund to keep Governor Stevenson before the public, but since he is not able to commit himself to any plans for the present, here is a suggestion for the use of funds already collected, and for future contributions: to keep a radio comentator like Elmer Davis—in fact, Elmer Davis!—on the stations which do not have a sponsor for him, and to buy radio time for him at strategic points throughout the country. I feel very insecure about the duration of Mr. Davis' programs. Just as it is important to increase the circulation of independent publications such as *NR* to combat the effect of the one-party press, it is very important to keep on the air one of the few remaining bold and liberal commentators.

If such a fund could be collected by the *NR*, I trust that some willing and able person would undertake to administer it. Such an idea has worked very successfully here in the Boston area, enabling an independent radio station to broadcast serious music.

And now, a word, in closing, of my inexpressible appreciation of your magazine. Almost every week I feel impelled to express this devotion. Never did I feel it more strongly than during the campaign. Good luck to you.

Milton, Mass. MARJORIE W. ULMAN

Enlarge Israel

● One stock argument used by the French in Tunisia is that they must protect the Jewish minority from attack by the Arab majority. . . . Obviously the only tangible answer is migration of the Tunisian Jews to Israel. This, however, would add to the state's already heavy burden. . . . Of the mandated area of Palestine, there is a strip of territory controlled at the present time by Egypt. It is useless to Egypt. A US loan would enable Israel to purchase this territory. Israel would be able to resettle the Tunisian Jews and other immigrants. Arab refugees now in the territory, could then be resettled in Tunisia. . . .

New York City SAMUEL DYEN

Watch Those Republicans

● Sen. Wayne Morse is a despised and fallen man in the eyes of the "crusaders" now in power. He may be the gadfly that this country needs in the coming sessions of Congress. We Democrats wish we could trade Maybank, Byrd, Ellender and McCarran for Morse and, to put it into baseball terms, give the GOP money to close the deal.

Ike seems to be showing irritability already and why shouldn't he with the team that wrung his hand on platforms during the campaign. . . . The citizens should now check the voting records of all their Representatives and heckle the expedient politician with threats of defeat when he wavers on matters of principle!

Walnut Creek, Calif. TOM KENDALL

Meeting the Expense of *NR*

● I note that in your December 8 issue of *NR* a reader expressed concern over the expense involved in your publication. I had reservations somewhat similar, but found that upon dropping my subscriptions to *Life* and *Time* I could not only afford to renew my subscription to *NR* but am saving money at the same time.

JOSEPH SCANLON

North Easton, Mass.

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VOLUME 128, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1989, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 12, 1953 **New Republic**

WHO WILL STAND UP TO McCARTHY?

THERE WERE those who voted Republican on November 4 in the belief that Eisenhower's victory would mean Senator McCarthy's demise. The Wisconsin Senator was not among them.

Instead McCarthy has made it plain that his past activities are but the prelude to his career as Chairman of the Senate Investigations Committee. He has hired the counsel of the McCarran Committee and announced his intention of moving in, with television and radio headlights, to investigate "Communist thinkers" ("I'd rather use the words 'Communist thinkers' than 'Communists'") in our schools and universities.

This man, who seeks to pass on our teachers and to determine what is good for our children, has himself been investigated by a Senate committee. It met first on September 28, 1951. It heard 12 specific charges of unfitness, made by Sen. William Benton. It reports:

> The record of what took place thereafter leaves the inescapable conclusion that Senator McCarthy deliberately set out to thwart any investigation of him by obscuring the real issue and the responsibility of the subcommittee by charges of lack of jurisdiction, smear and Communist-inspired persecution.

On December 6, 1951, McCarthy accused the committee of "stealing from the pockets of the American taxpayer tens of thousands of dollars." He added in later letters that every committee member was engaged in dishonest work that served the purposes of the Communist Party. The committee's first report was submitted in January, 1952. Someone—perhaps McCarthy himself, the committee hints—obtained it and leaked it to the press. The attacks that followed forced the committee to seek vindication. It won a mandate in a unanimous vote of confidence from the Senate. Yet it cowed under mounting pressure. On September 8, Jack Poorbaugh, a staff investigator, resigned. The Committee reports:

> It will be noted that September 8 was the day before the Wisconsin primary. . . . Information from a reliable source reported that Mr. Poorbaugh had conferred with associates of Senator McCarthy including Fulton Lewis Jr. just prior to his resignation in order to assist Senator McCarthy in the primary election.

On September 10, the committee chairman, Guy Gillette, surrendered to McCarthy and resigned. On September 12, Sen. Herman Welker resigned. Sen. A. S. "Mike" Monroney absented himself on a prolonged tour of Europe. Three committee members were left. Of these two were Democrats; they faced a hard decision. Should they search out all the facts and make them public or hobble along as far as the Republican, Sen. Robert C. Hendrickson, was willing to go? Remembering the fate of Tydings and Benton, they chose the second course. They failed to subpoena McCarthy despite his refusal, six times, to testify. They failed to make any recommendations. They allowed Hendrickson to hold up the report until a few hours before the Senate convened. Then all three signed a report, clearly indicating that McCarthy has violated state and federal laws and plainly suggesting that Eisenhower's Administration should take action through the Justice Department and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The report on McCarthy is so damaging, that in the committees words it "transcends partisan politics and goes to the very core of the Senate body's authority, integrity and the respect in which it is held.

The Senate convened. McCarthy moved on the floor, the town bully among the cowed children. His name was called and no voice broke the silence. A frightening silence for the United States, one that McCarthy may impress on this nation forever if he has his way.

Far more is involved here than the betrayal of campaign promises to stamp out corruption, or the creation of cynicism among a generation of young citizens taught that a man can get away with anything if he shouts loud enough. There is involved the survival of free speech and the duty to speak out in its defense, a duty neglected in this case by the New York *Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the columnists and publishers, all our respectable conservatives who forget that free speech makes possible their comfortable way of life. There is nothing certain about that way of life. It is only 16 years since leading bankers conspired to overthrow Roosevelt by a coup d'etat; 10 years since Taft contemplated with complacency Hitler's conquest of half the world. The responsibility is plainly Eisenhower's to enforce our laws, and in enforcing them to protect his party as well as his nation. Who knows whether after four years, Eisenhower will be physically able to seek his party renomination? Who among the Republicans will stand up to McCarthy in advancing to power then, if none will stand up to him in wrongdoing now?

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THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FILIBUSTER

by Paul H. Douglas

I AM WRITING this on the eve of the convening of the 83rd Congress. In the Senate, all bills introduced in the 82nd Congress will have died and if they are to be considered in the 83rd Congress they will have to be reintroduced. All appointments made by the President during the 82nd Congress which were not then confirmed by the Senate will have died. All treaties submitted during the 82nd Congress which were not ratified will have to be dealt with anew. The new Senate will have to elect its officers for the 83rd Congress. It will have to re-form its committees, and with the shift of power many committee changes will be made.

The old Senate will therefore have died with the 82nd Congress. It will be a new Senate which convenes on January 3 as one branch of the 83rd Congress.

We of the bipartisan progressive bloc believe that this is as true in the matter of rules and procedure as it is in legislation, appointments, treaties, officers and committees.

The defenders of the old order, primarily composed of the ruling coalition of Southern Democrats and Middlewestern Republicans, contend, however, that this is not so and that the rules of the Senate are in effect immortal and do not have to be adopted afresh with each Congress.

The issue thus stated may seem to be a barren and arid matter of parliamentary procedure. It involves, however, the whole question as to whether Congress will ever be able to pass civil-rights legislation. The issue is indeed far broader even than that. It is whether the Senate can ever free itself for decision by breaking filibusters conducted by a small minority. The principle of majority rule is the real issue.

A filibuster, it should be needless to say, is prolonged discussion of a measure designed to prevent it from ever coming to a vote. It is not discussion for the purpose of making voting more intelligent. Its purpose is to tie up business so completely that a vote will never occur. It is, therefore, a method of preventing the majority from making its decisions effective. Hence it is a form of minority rule.

We all know how, in recent years, filibusters have been used to prevent civil-rights legislation from being passed. Historically, it has also been used against many other proposed measures as well. This is well shown by Dr. Franklin L. Burdette in his classic book on the subject, *Filibustering in the Senate.* There was absolutely no check upon filibustering in the Senate until after the "willful 11" in March, 1917, and in the closing days of the 64th Congress had talked to death President Wilson's proposal to arm merchantmen to resist German submarine attack. Then, after Sens. Thomas J. Walsh and Robert L. Owen had asserted the right of the new Senate of the 65th Congress to adopt new rules and to curb filibusters, a partial beginning was made. Rule 22 was altered so that a vote to limit debate (or for cloture) could be passed by two-thirds of those present and voting, and after such a cloture motion was passed each Senator could speak for an hour. After this right had been exercised the substantive measure under consideration would then be voted upon.

In practice this provision proved ineffective. This was shown most notably in the filibuster against the Federal Fair Employment Practices bill of 1946. The opponents of that measure were in a minority, but with covert allies they did number more than a third and hence were able to talk the measure to death. Once again they were able to prevent it even from coming to a vote. This led in 1949 to the attempt of the liberal bloc to make it easier to terminate or limit debate.

The dramatic adoption of the Civil-Rights Plank by the Democratic convention in July, 1948, followed by the striking Democratic victory in November, filled us all with the hope that something could be done to remove the road block of the filibuster. We, therefore, introduced an amendment to Rule 22 providing, after a decent initial interval for debate, that further debate could be limited by a majority of the Senate. But the Southerners and most of the Republicans brought their coalition out into the open and then passed an amendment to Rule 22 which gave far greater protection to filibusters than did the 1917 rule.

This was done in two ways: (a) The new rule provided that debate could only be limited upon vote of two-thirds of the Senators "duly chosen and sworn," or by a so-called constitutional two-thirds, or 64 affirmative votes. Thirty-three Senators voting in the negative or *absenting themselves* from the vote could therefore prevent debate from being limited and permit a filibuster to go on. Since the average vote on cloture proposals had been approximately 82, this in itself greatly raised the barrier by requiring 64 affirmative votes as against a probable average under the old rule of around 56. (b)

Paul H. Douglas is US Senator from Illinois.

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Even more important was the addition of a third paragraph to Rule 22, namely, that there could be absolutely no limitation of debate upon any motion to bring up a change in the rules. This meant that debate could never be legally ended or limited on any proposal to liberalize the cloture provisions, except by unanimous consent. For, if any proposal to limit debate by majority vote or by some such ratio were introduced and if a motion were made to bring it to the floor of the Senate, then a small group could talk it to death and not even a constitutional two-thirds could stop them. The debate could be terminated only by unanimous consent which in vital matters would be impossible to obtain.

This then was the celebrated so-called Wherry Rule which ties our hands once the Senate is fully organized and is considered to have adopted or carried over its rules of procedure. For under it any later proposal to alter the rules could be filibustered and would never be permitted to come to a vote.

Therefore, if it be permanently decided that the rules of the preceding Senate apply automatically as the new Senate organizes, we may as well say farewell to any chance either for civil-rights legislation or needed changes in Senate procedure.

If, on the other hand, the Senate of a given Congress, such as the 83rd, first proclaims its existing right to adopt rules of procedure as it organizes, the way is then opened before organization is completed for the immediate revision of Rule 22, which would permit debate to be limited upon some variant of a majority vote and also allow us to strike from the books the final and third paragraph of Rule 22. It would then be possible for the Senate to decide and to act. Discussion would become an aid to, but not a preventive of, action.

I should like to emphasize the fact that while civil rights is probably the most notable field which would thus be opened up for legislation, it is by no means the only one. For example, the procedure of the Senate seems to cry aloud for the adoption of the rule of relevance in debate, so that discussion on a bill may not be totally disassociated from the measure under consideration. But such a reform can probably never be put into effect as long as paragraph 3 of Rule 22 remains.

What then are the objections advanced against our proposal that each Senate should adopt its rules afresh?

(1) It is contended that the Senate is a continuing body because only one-third of its members are elected every two years, and two-thirds of the members carry over from one Congress to another. It is argued that this is what differentiates the Senate from the House.

But this argument, as Sen. Thomas J. Walsh pointed out in 1917, confuses the Senate as a body with its members as individuals. Individual Senators serve for three successive Congresses in the Senatorial branch of Congress. But even though a bill may be signed in their offices or homes by each and every one of the 96 Senators, it does not thereby become a law. For this to be done a measure must be passed by the Senate meeting as a body and operating under agreed rules and procedures.

The contention that the Senate as a body is continuous and immortal and cannot in effect change its rules is indeed, upon close examination, seen to be ridiculous. For if one holds to this objection, he must be forced to argue that the Senate which convenes tomorrow is the very same body that first met in 1789 or 164 years ago and that we must be bound by their rules. Or that the so-called Wherry provisions which were riveted into the rules in 1949 must, as a practical matter, be continued to the end of time, and that even a Senate meeting for organization in the year 2100 would be the same body as today and hence would be bound by the work of the Senate of 1949.

Surely the only sensible conclusion is that each Congress is separate and distinct from its predecessors; that the Senate is only one branch of Congress (a fact that its members sometimes forget); and that hence this separate character is true of each Senate as it is of the House of Representatives.

Despite the hold-over of two-thirds of its members in each new Congress, it is conceded by everyone that the Senate is not a continuing body for the consideration of legislation, executive appointments, treaties, officers or committees. There is no basis for a different conclusion on the matter of rules. Just as the House can adopt or modify its rules prior to the completion of organization (as Rep. John E. Rankin abundantly demonstrated in 1945), so can the Senate.

(2) It is contended that if the rules of the Senate do not apply prior to its organization, there will be no rules to govern procedures during this transitional period and hence there will be parliamentary chaos.

This is sheer nonsense. In the absence of Senatorial rules, the generally established rules of parliamentary procedure will govern. These are well stated in the classic American handbook of Roberts' *Rules of Order*, with Jefferson's *Manual* serving as a supplement. Under these rules, the chair can rule initially that a motion proclaiming the right of each Senate to adopt its own rules can be made and if upheld by the Senate will prevail, then before organization is completed another motion can follow that will call for the adoption of all present rules except Rule 22 for which an adequate substitute

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can be submitted. After the chair has made its rulings, appeals can then be taken to the body of the Senate.

And now this is the point: after a decent interval of debate, and for the very purpose of preventing filibustering, a member under approved parliamentary procedure may move "the previous question" or move to table the appeal. Neither of these motions is debatable, and a vote upon them must be taken immediately. Upon request of one-fifth of those present, under the Constitution (Article I, section 5 (3)) this vote must be by rollcall. A motion to table requires only a majority; for the previous question to be put, a two-thirds vote is required. This would enable the Senate to do what the House can do and what every parliamentary or private body in the world can do.

(3) It is contended that the Supreme Court has ruled in the case of *McGrain* v. *Daugherty*, 273 *US* 135, that the Senate is a continuing body and that we should therefore abide by the rulings of the Court.

It is truly extraordinary how the very men who object violently to decisions of the Supreme Court when these go against their beliefs and interests, and who then demand that Congress pass acts to reverse the Court's decisions, will predominantly insist that those decisions of which they approve shall be accepted by Congress as final, and shall not even be questioned.

The vast majority of those who want this Congress to reverse three successive opinions of the Supreme Court which gave "paramount rights" to off-shore oil to the federal government, and who want us to give this rich treasure to the states, form the hard core of the group which is now insisting that the Daugherty Case shall be accepted as final.

Upon analysis, however, it will be seen that the Daugherty Case did not really involve the question of whether the Senate is in fact a continuing body. It did not decide that a committee may continue beyond the life of an expired Senate. It merely ruled that such a committee could be revived by a succeeding Congress. But if so, it would be by a different body, and hence the issue in the Daugherty Case was very different from the issue which is here raised. Any statements by the Court in that case to the effect that the Senate is a continuing body were therefore *obiter dicta* and in no sense legally binding.

We need to go back to the Constitution itself to get a clearer idea of the powers of the Senate to form its rules. Article I, section 5 (2), states that "each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings." The House can do so with each new Congress. There is no reason for differentiation in the case of the Senate.

(4) It is contended that even if the Senate once had the right to adopt new rules at the beginning of a new Congress, it has lost that right by failing to exercise it over its historical past. This is what the lawyers call the doctrine of *laches*.

But Senators Walsh and Owen both asserted at the opening of the 65th Congress in March, 1917, that the Senate had the right to adopt rules for its procedure prior to organization. This issue was not finally pushed to a test because, as I have stated, these Senators were later able to change Rule 22 to permit a limited power of cloture. But no ruling was made against the contention of Walsh and Owen, and a preliminary ruling by the Vice-President refusing to allow bills to be submitted to committees until the Senate was organized slanted in their direction.

As a matter of fact, the same argument that the failure of a branch of Congress to adopt rules constitutes an abandonment of that right was made in the House of Representatives in 1890 when the Republican majority sought to change the rules of that body. This objection was, however, overruled and the House then proceeded to adopt its old rules plus changes recommended by Thomas B. Reed and Joseph G. Cannon. A strict legalist might also contend that the acquiescence by the Senate in the past in the carrying over of old rules constituted a tacit act of passing upon them and was in no sense an abandonment of the right to do so.

It is moreover, a bad principle to hold that one generation or one Congress can give up the rights of future generations or future Congresses by a failure to act. This was well stated by Thomas Jefferson in a letter to John Cartright in 1824:

> Can one generation bind another, and all others, in succession forever? I think not. The Creator has made the earth for the living, not the dead. . . . A generation may bind itself as long as its majority continues in life; when that has disappeared, another majority is in place, holds all the rights and powers their predecessors once held, and may change their laws and institutions to suit themselves. Nothing, then, is unchangeable but the inherent and unalienable rights of man.—*The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia*, volume vii, pp. 377, 378.

In short, the issue at stake is not merely procedural. The decision upon it is likely to determine much of the political course of the next few years. We of the progressive group feel that right is on our side. We ask that the matter be carefully studied by the general public. Ultimately in a democracy such as ours, the issue will be settled by the people.

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NORTH AFRICA THREATENS THE EDC

NORTH AFRICA has already played an important role in General Eisenhower's career. It was there, 10 years ago, that he got the chance to take his first major risks and to win his first successes.

The whole "Torch Campaign" emerges clearly in retrospect as the first firm step on the path which has led Eisenhower to the White House. In addition, the lessons of the liberation of North Africa, carried out by AFHQ, the first multi-national fused command in modern history, began a process of world political education for a relatively obscure US soldier. North Africa was Eisenhower's first crusade. Now, 10 years later, one of the first problems Eisenhower faces as President is a choice between North African risks. In essence, the choice is between two varieties of expediency, between two calculated risks. For, if the problem of Indo-China looms up close behind the problem of Korea and the whole of US policy in Asia, there is also a close connection between Indo-China and North Africa, hence with US policy in Europe.

If Eisenhower chooses to support the present French government's policy in Tunisia and Morocco, he risks playing the Soviets' game. The policy is of the unrestrained use of "police" power to attain political ends; it is repression rather than reform; it rests on the theory of "untouchability"—that events in North Africa are entirely of French concern, and not the outside world's business. Yet, from the brutalities of the "Red Hand," the terrorist organization of French colonists in Tunisia, to the diplomatic niceties of the Elysees Palace in Paris, the policy is helping Marshal Stalin build his empire of discord.

For this policy is driving moderate nationalists in Tunisia into extremism, and extremists into Communism. It is strengthening the axis that links the Kremlin, the neo-Nazi Germans, the fanatical Moslems of the Arab League and the Moslem Brotherhood. It helps the machinations of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, now "re-organizing" Syrian economy as he had already done with the economies of Iran, Egypt, Indonesia and Spain. It emboldened Colonel Shishakly who boasts of making Syria "the Prussia of the Arab countries" and permits him to say that he and General Naguib are "two bodies with a single mind." Above all, it gives added meaning to the Soviets' voting with the Arab countries against Israel at the UN.

Eisenhower can, on the other hand, try to modify French policy. For, as one of the wisest French experts, George Izard, has pointed out, the notion that Tunisia and Morocco can be kept outside the world political framework is untrue, and unrealistic under present world conditions. He says:

> We want to make an international problem of Indo-China because things are going very badly there, but we intend to hang on to the strictly French character of North African affairs because events there have not yet reached the point of disaster. It is the tactic of the individualization of profits and the collectivation of losses. It is no wonder that the Soviets follow in the footsteps of Hitler on the path of anti-Semitism. . . .

Eisenhower can try to prevent widening of the breach that is appearing in the non-Soviet world between the Great Powers of the West, either colonialist or with world commitments, and the small nations, particularly the "new" ones of the East. But here, too, he risks playing the Soviets' game. For the new strategy is conditioned on the confident hope in Moscow that the new US President, though ardently pro-European unity, will "inevitably" be forced by "US capitalist interests" to take steps that will further shred the already weakening fabric of European unity.

If Eisenhower cautions the French Government against the dangerous mockery of forcing Tunisian co-operation at the equivalent of pistol point, his action will be taken by the *colons* as favoring US businessmen. There are some 1.8 million Frenchmen in Tunisia and Morocco, and their leaders have powerful friends on the French Right, in the Gaullist movement, among the "classical" and "integral" nationalists, and among the crypto-neutralists.

The calculated risk in this horn of Eisenhower's dilemma is that it may spike to death the European Defense Community. If the EDC is killed or maimed, these French nationalists of the Right expect the US to go ahead with the creation of a German army, and with economic favoritism to the Germans.

The tragedy of Tunisia is that while the present French Government talks of giving up some portion of national sovereignty in Europe, it tries to impose on moderate Tunisian nationalism a kind of co-sovereignty that in effect means French control and refuses to recognize that force no longer will work.

There is no doubt that the French have brought extraordinarily valuable economic benefits to Tunisia, the most advanced and most Europeanized portion of its African empire, and also to Morocco. But it is also true that the present French political attitude is reflected by Maurice Bourges-Maunoury's official pronouncement that the principle of the self-determination of peoples is now nothing more than an instrument of "demagogic struggle."

Whatever the Estiqlal extremists or the Communists may be up to, the fact is that the Neo-Destour is still a moderate, democratic party, willing to make a reasonable arrangement with the French. But present French policy is forcing Habib Bourguiba toward the road that Ho Chi-minh took in Indo-China. As the London *Times* says, "If the present breach between France and her Protectorate is left to grow, it may soon become so wide that no government will be able to bridge it."

If the French refuse to recognize that Tunisia is an international problem until the situation begins to resemble the one in Indo-China, the ancient capital of Tunisia which already symbolizes the downfall of one empire may symbolize further decay in another. On the other hand, the new President of the new Rome may be wiser about France than Cicero was about Carthage.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE NATION TALKS BACK TO McCARRAN

by Tom Fitzsimmons

SEN. PAT MCCARRAN finally has rendered a singular service to the nation as a whole. Rarely in our sprawling society does it occur that all important shadings of opinion join militantly either in criticism or in constructive proposal. Yet exactly this has happened. And the credit goes to the authors of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952.

Since the Act was barely pushed through over a Presidential veto last June, its authors have continually claimed it was designed to protect "the best interests of the US," that, contrary to criticism, it contains not "one iota of racial or religious discrimination," and that it is "in full accord with the traditional American concepts of fair play."

However, a careful study of 2,000 pages of testimony taken in all parts of the country from 634 individuals representing tens of millions of US citizens has led an impartial Presidential Commission to repudiate the whole concept upon which the McCarran Immigration Act, and all the past legislation it purports to synthesize, is based —the concept of National Origin.

Specifically, the President's Commission, established immediately after passage of the Act at the insistence of every major religious faith, has concluded that:

"The immigration and nationality law embodies policies and principles that are unwise and injurious to the nation.

"It rests upon an attitude of hostility and distrust against all aliens.

"It applies discriminations against human beings on account of national origin, race, creed and color.

"It ignores the needs of the United States in domestic affairs and foreign policies.

"It contains unnecessary and unreasonable restrictions and penalties against individuals.

"It is badly drafted, confusing and in some respects unworkable. It should be reconsidered and revised from beginning to end."

The seven men who made up the Commission, under the chairmanship of Philip B. Perlman, former Solicitor General of the US, were directed to "study and evaluate the immigration and naturalization policies of the US," and to recommend "such legislative, administrative and other actions as in [their] opinion may be desirable *in the interests of the economy, security and responsibility of this country.*"

With little time to organize, and with no time to influence public opinion, the Commission held its first hearing in New York on September 30, then traveled the length and breadth of the nation gathering evidence throughout October.

It was autumn and Senator McCarran was often heard to wonder what all the ruckus was about since, obviously, everyone approved of his 100-percent-American law.

The first person to appear before the Commission, Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler, represented the World Council of Churches, composed of 160 major denominations. As Director of Field Operations for the World Council's Refugee Service, he had just returned from the Far East, the Middle East and Europe. He spoke eloquently of the damage done us in these areas by our immigration policies and called for new, realistic legislation. And although he was followed by spokesmen for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups, by scholars, scientists and public officials, by lawyers and political scientists, and representatives of farm groups, business and organized labor, as well as of veteran, patriotic and civic groups, the substance of testimony seldom varied.

The Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, testified that, "The discriminatory and undemocratic features of the . . . law are to my mind a grave threat to our domestic development and our international leadership." And the Rev. Werner Juntz, representing the Missouri Synod-Lutheran Church, added, "Some of the things I read in PL 414 seem more akin to the superiority complex spawned out of the foulness of Nazism than to the humanitarian attitude . . . our fathers taught us. It is not the kind of thinking one should expect of a nation . . . thrust into a position of world leadership." Rabbi Hillel Silver and many, many leading Church dignitaries concurred.

James P. McGranery, Attorney General of the US, testified that ". . . the new Act does not achieve the simplicity of arrangement to be expected of an exhaustive codification. . . . We might multiply instances wherein the new Act gives the Department of Justice serious problems of administration and enforcement." And his criticism was supported by statements from the Secretary of Labor, of Agriculture and of State, as well as by many others in federal, state and municipal government.

Walter Reuther said, "PL 414 is . . . contrary to the ideals we seek as Americans and to our needs as workers in building defenses against . . . Communism." Philip Murray and the AFL were joined by representatives of

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business and of farm groups in similar testimony.

Albert Einstein denounced the law elsewhere, saying ". . . the intervention of political authorities in this country in the free exchange of knowledge between individuals has already had significantly damaging effects." And Kirtley F. Mather, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, charged that the act had "dropped a red-tape curtain around the US." Before the Commission similar testimony was presented by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Federation of Atomic Scientists, the American Council of Learned Societies, by Dr. Vannevar Bush, President of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and former Director of the wartime office of Scientific Research and Development, and others

Louis J. Jaffe, representing the American Bar Association, said, "The present Act is compounded of hostility and suspicion of the immigrant." And Eugene L. Van Antwerp, former Mayor of Detroit, Past National Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a member of the Sons of the Revolution, added, "In reviewing the US immigration policy as enunciated by the McCarran law, we find what we regard as serious and severe contradictions of the ideals for which we fought. . . . The . . . law appears to place a premium on values diametrically opposed to those values."

The concensus of testimony by responsible representatives of almost every interest in the nation was that the Act of 1952 is an arrogant, brazen instrument of discrimination based on race, creed, color and national origin and a return to weapons of tyranny man has fought since the dawn of civilization; that it injures our people at home, causes much resentment against us abroad, and impairs our position among free nations whose friendship and understanding is necessary if we are to meet and overcome the totalitarian menace.

Long before the final report was issued, however, McCarran began to take out insurance. On December 24 he was ready with a statement which read in part:

> Within a week, the nation will be subjected to a propaganda blast in the form of a report from a special commission appointed by the President. . . .
>
> The . . . Act is complimented by the nature of those who seek to have it repealed. . . . It is a tragic fact that the out-and-out Reds have ready colleagues in this fight: the "pinks," the misguided "liberals" and the demagogues. . . .
>
> The fight against the new Act will be pushed vigorously . . . by the Communists and those who serve them.

"The Communists and those who serve them"!—the names of those who had testified, the kind of people they are and what they said, had been widely publicized.

In view of what they said, the Commission gathered much hitherto unavailable information concerning the past, present and probable future impact of immigration on US internal affairs and foreign policy. Then, through careful and exhaustive staff work, they formulated the factual answers to the historically intrenched misconceptions and prejudices exploited in the original passage of the Act. The result is a sane, realistic, hopeful document. Here it is in summary:

While examining the impact of immigration on US internal affairs, the Commission's report reminds us that our growth as a nation has been achieved in large measure through the genius and industry of immigrants of every race and from every quarter of the world. It destroys the myth that immigration contributes to depression and unemployment, and cites the view of many distinguished economists that the great depression of the 1930s was partly caused by the restrictive immigration laws passed nearly a decade before.

The grave manpower needs of a nation whose gross national product has increased (in 1951 dollars) from $140 billion a year in 1924 to $329 billion in 1951 were attested to by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Knox T. Hutchinson, by the National Farmers Union, and Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, who said "the future holds . . . a continuing fairly tight situation so far as manpower resources are concerned, and . . . we may safely gauge our immigration policies accordingly." Both William Green and Phillip Murray concurred.

Our diminishing manpower reserves also pose a problem of national security. Since 1900, our median age has risen from 23 to over 30. When added to near full-employment this condition means that our manpower situation in relation to potential enemies has changed drastically since 1941. Then we held an impressive superiority; today the situation is reversed. Only 20 percent of our population will be in the ages 15 to 29 in 1955, and the number of men reaching military age will be 200,000 less than in 1940.

The Commission consequently finds that both our peacetime and our security needs require increased immigration, but that "our present . . . policies are a serious barrier to the fulfillment of those needs." It recommends a maximum ceiling of some 250,000 quota immigrants each year, based upon one-sixth of one percent of the 1950 population. (The McCarran Act arrived at a quota of some 150,000 by using the 1920 census and eliminating from the count Negroes, American Indians and other non-white persons.) This recommendation was supported by labor, farm and government spokesmen. The point is made that the provision for denying visas to persons likely to become public charges is a built-in

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brake against excessive immigration during periods of unemployment.

In examining the effect of our immigration laws upon US foreign policy, the report states as a fundamental principle that they must be designed to advance that policy. But reams of testimony by W. Averell Harriman, William H. Draper, Dean Acheson and many others, flatly proves that American immigration policies have frustrated and handicapped the aims and programs of our foreign policy throughout the period since 1924, and that this interference is acute today.

Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., testifying on one aspect of the new Act, said, "I refer to the so-called national-origins quota system, the perpetuation of which is perhaps the most notorious feature of the . . . McCarran-Walter Act. I regard [it] as repugnant to many millions of Americans and contrary to the best interests of the US. . . . It has a tremendous international impact."

The consensus was that the major disruptive influence in our immigration law is the racial and national discrimination caused by the national-origins system: it loses us friends and makes our moral pronouncements a mockery abroad, it prevents us from acting quickly and effectively in helping to relieve refugee and over-population problems when and where they arise, and from giving asylum to escapees from the Iron Curtain countries.

While analyzing the concept of national origin, the Commission reminds us that the US is the only major English-speaking country in the world which has written discrimination into its immigration laws, and that the legislative history, the statements by its sponsors and the nature of its operation all point to the fact that the 1924 national-origin system was designed and intended to discriminate on the basis of race, color, and (in effect) religion.

The Commission's hearings provided the first substantial opportunity for the people of this nation to present evidence and views on the validity of this concept. The conclusion is that its underlying assumptions are wrong, and an enormous amount of scientific and other research completed since 1924 corroborates this conclusion.

Three large areas of assumption support the concept and the system: (1) that there are inferior and superior races; (2) that immigration is harmful, particularly to the economic life of America; and (3) that the so-called "new" immigrants have inferior personal qualities.

The second assumption has already been dealt with. The first is unqualifiedly held to be scientifically invalid by outstanding anthropologists, biologists and sociologists testifying before the Commission.

As for the third assumption, testimony by religious, educational and scientific leaders, as well as the records of the Displaced Persons Administration, and of Hoover's Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, indicate there is no reliable evidence whatsoever to support it.

The national-origins system, then, is held to be based on false assumptions, unsubstantiated by physical science history, sociology, economics or anthropology. Therefore, the Commission recommends "that since the basis of the national-origins system is gone, the system itself should go."

The Commission then puts forth propositions which amount to a complete revision of the foundations of all our past immigration legislation; that the national-origins system be replaced by a unified quota system providing for the allocation of visas, within the annual maximum, in accordance with the following five categories:

The Right of Asylum
The Reunion of Families
Needs in the United States
Special Needs in the Free World
General Immigration

There follows a section proposing a new agency to administer all immigration and naturalization laws, and detailing, through a careful and exhaustive examination of the iniquities and contradictions in the mechanics of the present laws and agencies, the technical, legal and judicial provisions new legislation should incorporate.

The whole is an exciting testimony both to the power of reason in a time of emotion, and to the dramatic validity of the democratic way. Its very existence poses an unanswerable challenge to totalitarianism. Yet to become more than mere testimony it must be acted upon. Sen. William Langer, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and a man long known for independence of mind and spirit, has the power to recommend, with authority, legislation embodying the Commission's proposals. It is hoped that he will not fail the opportunity, or, if he should, that others will seize it and receive his support. It should not be forgotten that, during the campaign, President-elect Eisenhower denounced the "unfair provisions" of the present Act and demanded it be re-written.

Much will depend on us. It is characteristic of evil in a society that its individual manifestations can long be ignored or tolerated. Occasionally, however, one man will carefully gather together the pieces and offer the resulting shameful anthology to a people as its formal expression. That he is astonished and hurt at the revulsion that greets his offering is of no consequence. He nonetheless deserves our gratitude—and our action.

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POINT FOUR AND THE BATTLE FOR ASIA

VI. FORMOSA — MAIN ROAD TO FREE CHINA?

by Clarence Decker

WE FLEW through a brilliant sunrise from the southern to the northern tip of Formosa—"the Beautiful Island"—named by the Portuguese when they first landed there in the fourteenth century. A fellow passenger pointed to the peaceful country below. "It's a stationary aircraft carrier today," he said. "Between Japan and the Philippines, it controls the sea lanes from North Asia through the South China Sea to Malaya, Burma and India." As our plane "touched down" in the capital city, Taipei, he reminded us that we were within standard bombing range of most of East Asia's nerve centers, that the Communist China coast lay less than a hundred miles to the West.

The story opens in the late fall of 1949 when the retreating remnants of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forces were driven from the Mainland to the Island. One-fourth the size of Illinois but with an equal population of around eight million, Formosa was suddenly confronted with the grim problem of housing a million refugee countrymen, an army of a half million, and the superstructure of the Nationalist Government. The normally self-supporting economy was shaken by frightening deficits in budgets and international payments, dwindling reserves, mounting inflation. Relations between the Formosans (95 percent of whom are peasants) and the Mainlanders (composed largely of soldiers, businessmen, professional men and intellectuals) got off to a bad start and deteriorated rapidly.

The problem was not that of a typical Far East underdeveloped country. Prewar Formosa enjoyed a productive agricultural economy. The western slopes are covered with flat, fertile and intensively cultivated farms, yielding two and three crops of rice annually and ample supplies of sweet potatoes, peanuts, sugar, ramie, jute, tumeric, camphor, and the famous Formosa tea, many of which are exported.

Prewar industrial developments also were high for Asia. When Japan acquired the Island after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, it set to work with typical thoroughness to develop the new colony's economy. Irrigation projects, factories, electric power, communication systems, highways and railroads soon provided services on a scale unknown on the Mainland or in most of Southeast Asia. During the last World War, this development was greatly accelerated to satisfy the Japanese war machine's demands for processed raw materials. Formosan-Japanese relations during the 50-year occupation were not relatively disagreeable and the Formosans proved apt pupils. They are diligent and artful farmers and they adapted easily to new agricultural techniques and demonstrated their talents in industry. The Japanese reserved most of the managerial posts for themselves and virtually prohibited the training of Formosans for administration, but they did encourage elementary education, with the result that general educational standards are among the highest in Asia.

By the end of the war, allied bombings, typhoons, floods and the lack of maintenance had led to considerable destruction and deterioration in Formosa's relatively thriving economy, but the Island—returned to China in 1945—would not have figured extensively in the calculations of global strategists except for the artificial problems created by the Communist capture of the Mainland and the Korean crisis.

Faced with these new conditions, the United States, drastically revising its Far East policy, decided to help develop Formosa as a strategic base in the battle against further Communist expansion in Asia. Immediately following the South Korea invasion in June, 1950, the Seventh Fleet was ordered to neutralize the Island. Ten months later a Military Advisory Mission was dispatched to assist in the rehabilitation of the Nationalist army. Economic and technical assistance was greatly expanded. During the past two years this assistance, exclusive of direct military aid, has cost approximately $173 million. The Mutual Security Agency administers this program—the largest of our assistance undertakings in the Far East.

The Nationalist Government itself has vigorously attacked economic problems by substantial expenditures derived from increased taxes, issuance of bonds, bank advances, liquidation of government-owned properties, currency counterpart generated by American aid. Its Economic Stabilization Board—a top-level planning group—meshes economic and military aid with local resources. The Board's austerity program increased ordinary revenues 60 percent this past year, substantially reduced budget deficits and price instability, and established effective expenditure controls. Even so, the MSA aid has been critically needed. Our Formosa program is the

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only one in the Far East in which aid is a substantial factor in the stabilization of an entire economy.

The major "success story" of our efforts is the work of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. JCRR represents the first serious attempt to support a comprehensive attack on the basic problems common to farmers in most of Asia. It began its work on the Mainland in 1948. Within a few months it was forced to retreat with the Nationalists to Formosa, but, the two Mainland provinces in which it carried on sizable operations resisted the Communists longer than any other area. Since discontent among the farming class has been the principal contributing cause of Communism, the success of JCRR provided the basis for the village-level approach in Formosa and our other Southeast Asia programs.

In its two years on Formosa, JCRR—under the distinguished leadership of Dr. Chiang Monlin, a John Dewey "alumnus" and former President of the University of Peking—has attacked the age-old problem of agricultural feudalism with vigor and imagination. Three-fifths of the Formosans are small farmers, the overwhelming majority sharecroppers. Until recently they paid high rents and exorbitant interest. They had no security on the land. JCRR faced the problem on four fronts: land reform, agricultural productivity, farmers' associations and rural health.

Already land rent has been reduced from approximately 60 percent to a maximum of 37.5 percent of the main crop, tenure has been guaranteed for a minimum of three years, and public land has been made available on terms the small farmer can afford. Pending legislation, limiting excessive private ownership, will benefit two million farmers.

At the nearby agricultural vocational school, we watched several hundred young Formosans studying animal husbandry and new farming techniques. An agricultural specialist showed us some of the extensive research and experimentation looking toward higher food productivity. Output in many instances already surpasses prewar peaks. Rice, for example, last year reached a record level, providing full rations for every soldier and civilian and a surplus of 85,000 tons for export—an amount worth $12 million in essential import equipment and materials.

At the local health center we saw several hundred school children standing in line, each cheerfully waiting to receive his semi-annual anti-malaria shot. The doctors emphasized that the health program stresses prevention: mosquito eradication and control, tuberculosis checks, the training of teachers in hygiene and sanitation, and an island-wide system of health centers. Thus JCRR, with its 250 different projects, is creating a peaceful social and economic revolution in Formosa's rural life.

The goal of the industrial program is a Formosa, not self-sufficient, but ever more self-supporting. Working closely with able Chinese leaders, MSA has helped to restore much of the prewar economy and to pilot new industry. Electric power capacity, freight loadings, transportation and communications, industrial output have developed phenomenally. Free enterprise has been encouraged in a number of ways, including the sale of government-owned industries to private investors and the signing last summer of a private investment guarantee agreement with the United States. Labor reform is in the offing. A vigorous extension of the industrial program, with the aid of loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the Export-Import Bank, could give Formosa economic stability (exclusive of military aid) within four or five years.

This story of Formosa may seem unconvincing to those Americans who have grown cynical from our years of frustrated effort on the China Mainland and from popular exposures of the "nefarious" China Lobby. The critics will argue that it is too late, that the Nationalists can never recapture their power and prestige in the Orient, that their relations with their Southeast Asia neighbors are hopelessly bad, that Formosa itself is of insufficient strategic importance to justify the vast sums (especially military) we are spending, that history has irrevocably by-passed the Nationalists and their Kuomintang Party, that eventually we will find it expedient to recognize the Mainland Government and hope that China will become the Yugoslavia of Asia. . . .

These are the imponderables. I report simply that the Nationalist Government justifies its hope by pointing to the miracle of Formosa. There, in less than three years, an island of despair has been transformed into a fortress of strength. With ever-larger responsibilities entrusted to the representatively constructed Peoples Provincial Assembly, and with the extension of civil liberties and the expanded jurisdiction of the civil courts, relations between Formosan and exiled Mainlander have vastly improved.

Post mortems over the Mainland debacle are now largely of academic interest. We must look to the future and that future can be guaged in part by present accomplishments and aspirations. A potential rallying point for the 13 million prosperous and potentially powerful Chinese throughout the world, especially in Southeast Asia, and a beacon of hope to the Communist-oppressed Chinese on the Continent, Formosa may yet prove to be the only sure road back to the Mainland—to the Free China of the future.

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THE NEW FASCISM IN ITALY

by Anne Fremantle

IT MAY BE THAT in Germany, as in Italy, the most obvious cause for concern among the thinking inhabitants is the hovering colossus of the USSR. But, nearer than the atom bomb, closer than the threatening universal cataclysm, is this locally renascent Neo-Fascism and Neo-Nazism. It is not that anyone ever loses sight of the danger on the doorstep.

But, as was said, more than 1,900 years ago, it is not what is outside of us which defiles us, but what arises spontaneously from within. And the best and most morally aware Italians and Germans feel terrible concern at the new crop of their own maggots. For these new cancers, growing fresh on the stumps of recently cauterized sores, prove that some structural changes *have* taken place in the composition and behavior of the cells of the European body politic, and that there is a recurrent malady existent and widely prevalent, which surgery may have halted, but has not healed. How to heal it is a pressing problem.

The United States is at war, and one of the first things that strikes an American visitor in Europe today is the artificially prolonged prewar atmosphere. It is entirely artificial, and is an almost deliberate ostriching. But, though the temperature varies from country to country, this pre-lapsarian climate everywhere prevails. In England, for example, the US visitor, for the first week, always talks of the war, the war, the war. His or her hosts laugh, "Poor thing—each time you come you're like that. But it will pass; in a few days." And they talk about Queen Elizabeth's coming coronation, about "Nye" Bevan's latest naughtiness, and soon the visitor gets his cue, and "adjusts."

On arrival, the US visitor to Italy or Germany talks of the war, and nothing but the war. Being fresh from home, the casualty lists, the blood bank appeals, the Friday sirens, the air-raid notices posted in the elevators, the daily invitations in speech or paper to hoard or to hide, are still uppermost in his mind. But soon the visitor is only too glad to let this burden fall. Going to Europe today is, for the average US citizen something of the same vacation from fear that coming to the US was for a European in 1938.

But for very different reasons. Then, the US was uncommitted, or rather, had no idea just how committed it was, and didn't want to know. Today, Europe knows the score only too well: the concentration camps, the whole paraphernalia of the police state, are not forward in 1984 but only a few years behind or a few miles away; not separated by 3,000 miles, but for many as close as the next hedge, that field over there, a bare two blocks away. Little wonder that Europeans behave like patients in hospital under observation for cancer: the "long illness" is the one thing no one will mention, yet about which no one can stop thinking.

Yet, even if one is threatened with cancer, one may yet, alas, suffer from arthritis or typhoid. And when his total preoccupation with the surface-symptoms of war subsides, the average US visitor may discover, by many signs, that in Italy and in Germany the Communists may be coming but meanwhile the Fascists and Nazis have come.

In Italy, in spite of the fact that the Italian Communists gained, rather than lost, in the last election, polling 32 percent of the total votes cast, against 24 percent at the previous election, Communism appears to most educated Italians as a preposterous, unlikely and alien evil, whereas Fascism is all too indigenous; here are mighty mites in their own home-made cheese.

As early as 1949, car loads of black-shirts drove gaily around Florence unmolested, or were but weakly or spasmodically booed. Although the most famous Fascists were then still "out of town" and in retirement, many of them had already obtained snug jobs with the occupying forces, and now have transferred to the international organizations, UNRRA first, then the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), or to such national ones as the British Council, or the Associated Press (AP). Now *everyone* is "back," and many are publishing well-written and better-selling books. Curzio Malaparte (*The Skin*) is one; another is G. Bottai, whose *Twenty Years and a Day* is a tongue-in-cheek, crocodile-tear-stained account of life under Fascism. Giovanni Gentile's daughter-in-law (the Fascist philosopher was killed in 1944) burst into public tears when speaking of the insufferable shame of "September 8 the day when Italy abandoned her ally, Germany." Because of the electoral law of *apparentamento,* by which a majority decision similar to that in the US is required, so that any party getting 51 percent bags all, the Italian minorities are obliged to get together. This leads to some queer coup-

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lings: for example, the Monarchists and the Fascists, the demo-Christians and the liberals. The Monarchists generally consider the Fascists rebels, and the Fascists consider the Monarchists traitors, but, since de Gasperi snubbed the Monarchists, Achille Lauro, for example, a passionate Monarchist, and the biggest shipbuilder in Italy, has allied himself to the Neo-Fascists, whom he largely finances.

The Neo-Fascists are divided into two wings, one Monarchist and conservative, the other republican and very near Communism in its social philosophy. The break is not along age or class lines, but along geographic ones: the Northern Neo-Fascists, the Milanese in particular, are the violent *republicini* who derive from Mussolini's tiny republic of Salo, which was called the Republica Sociala. In the South, where there was no civil war, the Neo-Fascists won in the recent municipal elections in conjunction with the Monarchists in all the big cities except Rome, which was demo-Christian and veered more toward the Communists, and Palermo which went straight Neo-Fascist rather than mixed with Monarchist. The Northern municipal elections are not due for nearly two years, which will be after the next national ones, the one exception is Ferrara, which recently went Communist.

In spite of the depth of this cleavage between the two wings of the Neo-Fascist Party, they are unitedly anti-Yugoslav. They are neither pro- nor anti-German, though of course strongly and professionally anti-Russian. Both would accept Charles Maurras' distinction between the *pays légal* and the *pays réel*—the legal and the real country—as being true of Italy today: that is to say, they maintain that the real Italy is conservative, monarchist and nationalist, while legally Italy is democratic, Christian and for a European Federation. Since the vote against the king was 12 million to 10 (of whom eight million were Communist), the Monarchists claim that their position is really far stronger than would appear.

The Neo-Fascists official leader is Admiral Borghese, the head of the "Tenth Mas." He is a splendidly courageous man, respected by all, but the really "strong man" of the Neo-Fascists is Marshal Graziani, who is keeping to the background while biding his time. Father Tondi, the Jesuit priest who last May went over to the Communists, insists that Gedda, the head of Catholic Action, is planning to swing his party over to support of the Neo-Fascists. (Father Tondi is, however, the only person to advance this particular speculation.) The two most important Neo-Fascist deputies (they are not allowed to campaign as Neo-Fascists, so they call themselves the MSI, Movimento Sociale Italiano, generally known as Mis, and its followers are nicknamed Missini) are Luigi Almirante, best known as an orator, and Miéville.

Resurgent Fascism is catered to by a vast number of ephemeral, intensely violent, ultra-Fascist newspapers, which appear both daily and weekly, spattering the newsstands, sold on every street corner. Of these *Il Governo* is one of the better and milder. These papers are all subsidized as, indeed, are over 90 percent of all Italian papers. The very numbers of the Neo-Fascist papers show how widespread is the financial backing of the movement; their quality indicates how lacking the movement is in responsible leadership. For, although these violent vulgar newspapers swarm, they are all without pretensions to a serious position or a constructive policy, and there is no *one* reputable Neo-Fascist organ which can be said to speak authoritatively for the MSI.

Since Italy, in spite of a low standard of living and gross over-population, has made a remarkable recovery from the war, what are the underlying causes of a discontent so virulent as to have produced Neo-Fascism? Socially, politically, intellectually, Italian recovery is spectacularly ahead of that of all the victor countries, excepting only the United States and Belgium, and, of the vanquished, only Germany has recovered more completely. And Germany's recovery, for all its splendid outward appearance, is primarily economic. Primarily economic too, is the situation which in Italy has produced Fascism. First and foremost, there are the hordes of unemployed. Under Fascism, and during the Fascist war, there was very little, indeed almost no, visible unemployment. Today ECA estimates there are in Italy four million unemployed. This figure is obviously exaggerated, since the total number of Italian *employed* is only around 10 million. It is probably the turn-over figure, including all who have during the course of any year been on the unemployment registers. The true figure is more likely around one million. But this is bad enough, since there seems little hope that in the foreseeable future it can ever be less.

The government of Signor Alcide de Gasperi, admirable as it is in so many ways, has faltered in tackling its two greatest economic problems: over-population, and the distribution of the land, especially in the South where the *latifundia* are in the hands of a few absentee landlords. And when the government does sequester land, it is not always from the right people, or in the right way. This summer, for example, Prince Doria was complaining that the government was taking away from him 72 of his villages, and was turning the land over to his tenants. He had been ploughing with motor tractors,

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threshing with combines, had been bulk-buying new types of improved fertilizer and seed through the ECA, and had succeeded in at least beginning to improve his land. The tenants who will take over will have to go back to the primitive instruments, to the wooden hand plough that scratches up only a few millimeters of dust, to the medieval strip system of ownership, to the hand flail and to an increasing dependence on a constantly decreasing supply of animal manure. And this from lack of co-operatives and capital!

Fascism was, essentially, not a peasant, but a lower middle-class movement. Nor can even the pusillanimity of the present regime, with its terrible tardiness in implementing its promises (terrible in terms of human suffering and near-starvation) make Fascists of the peasants. It is all the "little people" of the cities, who were "in" for 20 years, and who now are "out." Also their innumerable urban relatives, who for 20 years were, if not cushily, at least adequately provided for, form a reservoir of solidly pro-Fascist feeling. These now have no jobs and no immediate, or even the most remote, possibility of a democratic "come back." Fascism and Communism both reduce the opposition to zero, but they cater for their supporters down to the fifth cousin of the most moth-eaten party hack, so that the end of Fascism represented, for a whole white-collared army, the end of employment, of a modicum of power, and of an enviably secure situation.

To these dispossessed must be added the mothers, widows and other relatives of the war dead. Since the Fascists lost the war, the *caduti*, the fallen, have been honored with no memorials, and their relatives have received no pensions, no veterans' disability payments, none of the preferential treatments in transportation, education or housing customary in other countries. In Italy, this is even more of a grievance than it would be elsewhere, since the Italians live very close to their dead. And for the tragic mourners, deprived of their breadwinners, and furthermore denied their *pièta* pose, their sacrifices rejected, lacking glory and official recognition, the fact that the Italian Government allows no monuments, has awarded no posthumous subsidies, pensions or medals, is a cause of deep and lasting resentment.

Another grievance, which brings additional members into the Neo-Fascist groups, is the number of Italian prisoners of war, variously estimated as numbering between 50 and 100,000 who are still in Russia. So far there has been no move on the part of the USSR to return them, and their absence makes their relatives grow fonder.

Unquestionably, however, of all the peeves, legitimate or phony, that Italians have against defeat and democracy, the loss of their colonies is the most serious. Trieste, first of all, is longed for, even more as a symbol than as a port. For Trieste after World War I was taken from the loathed and looted remains of the Hapsburg Empire, and it symbolizes the victory of Italy over the everlastingly hated German to the north. Most Italians honestly feel that Fascism was fine, so long as Germany didn't take it up. Once Hitler got into power, it was inevitable he should wish to expand south, as all his predecessors had, from Charlemagne (AD 800) on.

Eritrea, the newest of the colonies, has a special place in Italian hearts. But it is Cyrenaica, which sturdy Italian farmers had made a really going concern, from which eviction was bitterest. Some 40,000 Cyrenaican farmers, forcibly removed from their lands, have been settled in camps around Rome. There they receive 400 lire (about 40 cents) a day for food, clothing, everything except lodging, and if they got even the most casual of jobs, if they carry a bag or shine a shoe, their 400 lire are automatically stopped. Forty thousand decent, hard-working and successful farmers, whose only crime is to belong to a country that backed the wrong horse, might in themselves alone form a nasty fermentation: the original Fascist March on Rome was made by not so many more! And meanwhile, the neat farms in Cyrenaica crumble and scorch back into desert!

Nor could anything meanwhile be more galling to the Italians than to see Great Britain hanging on for dear life to the Sudan, and France to Indo-China, blessed by the United Nations, and financed by the United States; while Italians, who had tilled the soil, and improved *their* colonies more faithfully than any other nation, are herded home in unsanitary shacks. Meanwhile, too, the United States, Great Britain, Australia and Canada boggle at admitting the surplus Italian population, will accept only a screened trickle per year, and those with poor grace.

For most Italians, Fascism meant little unemployment, low taxes and much admirable social legislation. That such things must be paid for, as must, too, such actions as the invasion of Abyssinia, the murder of Matteotti and of the Roselli brothers, the collaboration with the Gestapo, or they will mushroom only to collapse in war, does not occur to the beneficiaries either while the going is good, or when it is gilded with the sunset aura of "then" as compared with the hard daylight of "now." Under Fascism fewer went hungry, even in the worst days of the war, than today, and the vanquished Italians resent being constantly reminded of the generosity of the victors, and of how even their food comes to them by courtesy of their conquerors.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE ARTS, THE SCIENCES AND HUMANITY

by David Riesman

PROFESSOR KROEBER has brought together in *The Nature of Culture* a half hundred of his essays, mainly those of a theoretical bent; he has capably cut and pruned them; and he has written bridge passages to connect his later essays with earlier ones (going back to 1901) and with the developments in anthropology in which he himself has played such a major part. Kroeber belongs to that, I fear, vanishing breed of the self-directed scholar who investigates items about which he is from time to time curious, without concern for the shaping of policy, the government of tribes, or the fashions of academia. His detachment has allowed him to spend much of his life tracking down the prehistory of American Indian tribes, and the way in which such items as salt and tobacco were spread from one to the other carrying different cultural weightings and rituals, without ever "justifying" his pursuit by allegations that the study of pre-literate cultures would help us solve the problems of our own civilization.

THE NATURE OF CULTURE, by A. L. Kroeber (Chicago; $6.50).

Surely his detachment encouraged him to spend three years after 1920 studying and practicing psychoanalysis in order to see whether this psychology could help him understand culture better: he concluded that on the whole it could not, for he believes that cultural forms and their transformations can be studied in their own terms, impersonally, without reduction to a motivational base in individuals. Indeed, some of the most rewarding papers in *The Nature of Culture* present his subtle views about the relation of the social and biological sciences to one another in terms of different levels of abstraction and different relations to history. There is perhaps no necessary connection between the preoccupation with psychology of many anthropologists today and their lack of interest in history—a lack often rationalized on the basis of the scanty evidence provided by pre-literates—but is is amply clear that concern with the genetic psychology of contemporary informants has tended for many psychologically-oriented students to crowd out curiosity about long-term historical developments. Moreover, this reviewer has the impression that Kroeber, in his insistence on the levels that separate the cultural and the psychological approaches, exhibits his unusual patience as a scholar, his distrust of short-cuts to understanding.

Typical of his method are the studies in this volume of the variabilities in fashions in women's evening dress, variabilities which he seeks to systematize much as a student of business cycles might do. While he suggests a possible relation between heightened fluctuations in the basic elements of style (such as length of skirt or depth of decolletage) and periods of social disturbance such as the Napoleonic Wars, he is very cautious in pushing such an explanation; characteristically, he prefers to present his data with a minimum of impatient forcing of "results." The result is that he gives the reader a great sense of confidence in the justness of his conclusions and, in those essays which are amiably polemical, confidence in the fairness of his strictures and criticisms.

Yet I would leave a very false impression of this many-faceted book if I did not couple my discussion of its admirably close reasoning and detailed scholarship with mention also of those essays in which Kroeber speculates about the history and prospects of great civilizations. In one, he suggests that a test for human progress is the degree to which delusional practices like shamanism lose social esteem to such an extent that an individual, who in a pre-literate tribe would have been honored for his vision and curative powers, is in a society like ours locked up or treated as a psychotic. For many anthropologists, however, pre-literate tribes are if anything superior to us in finding suitable and usable roles for deviants whom we in our great enlightenment would disapprove of and reject; indeed, many anthropologists would reject the whole concept of progress as an ethnocentric Enlightenment and post-Darwinian superstition. What Kroeber has done here is not only to challenge as many are doing, a relativist dogma (a challenge none is entitled to make who has not made the effort to immerse himself sympathetically in another culture) but also to see very acutely that the control of mental illness by making its possessor uncomfortable, as against the pre-literate practice of rewarding it, may be a sign of the growing tendency in the society as a whole to face rather than evade reality. And Kroeber firmly believes there is such a thing as reality — he speaks of "reality-culture" and "value-culture" as separate — no matter how opaque the epistemologies we employ to grapple with it.

In another essay, written last year, Kroeber suggests that Western civilization may be in a phase, not unlike the late Middle Ages, of reconstitution rather than decline — uncomfortable to live through but full of promise for the future. So badly put, it may sound as if Kroeber is trying to cheer us up, but this would underestimate the detachment and the passionate curiosity that I find so attractive in his thought. He is interested in cultural parallels and predictions and in how things will turn out; he is gifted in tracing styles in art and in social organization; he has read and pondered Spengler and Toynbee. But as a happy, confident child of the Enlightenment, cosmopolitan enough to feel at home in a Yurok village or an 18th-century drawing room, and as tough-minded a natural scientist as Claude Bernard or Faraday, he is not given to whistling in the dark.

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THE SACRED AND PROFANE

ANATHEMATA, by David Jones (Faber and Faber; $4).

IT IS LIKELY that among the already small number of Americans who know David Jones as one of the few great living English painters, an even smaller number will have read his one previous book, *In Parenthesis* which was, nevertheless, one of the works of enduring value that emerged from the first world war. It is hard to say of *In Parenthesis*, part autobiographical record of trench warfare, part incantation, part a tracing of the great themes of life and death down the paths of history, whether it is poetry or prose. *Anathemata* is more obviously a poem, and also, lacking the narrative clue, a more difficult work. It is a poem in the sense in which Pound's *Cantos* are a poem. It is intended to be read aloud, and when so read sounds like the more lyrical passages in *Finnegans Wake*, moving from heightened prose rhythms to freely organic verse forms, with half rhyme and alliteration.

Both David Jones' books are, unlike most published verse and prose, the work not of weeks or months, but of years; Mr. Jones has been working on *Anathemata* for twelve years, and even now presents it only as fragments of a work in progress. Both his books are, I believe, great works; both have the thrice-distilled quality of timeless and anonymous art, Gothic stone-carving or the paintings in the Lascaux caves. "When the workman is dead the only thing that will matter is the work, objectively considered," Mr. Jones writes in a preface that contains some of the finest writing about the writing of poetry since Yeats' *Autobiographies*. He has deliberately sought to eliminate all "self-expression," a task that although "fairly clear in principle, I have not found it easy to apply in practise." Few poets even attempt it. David Jones' gentle understatement is the measure of his mastery.

This statement might seem to be contradicted by the first words of his preface, "I have made a heap of all I could find" (the quotation is from Nennius) which might suggest a personal approach. The artist is writing about his "own thing"; but this *res* is unavoidably part and parcel of the Western Christian *res* as inherited by a person whose perceptions are totally conditioned and limited by and dependent upon his being indiginous to this island. In this it is necessarily insular; within which insularity there are the further conditionings contingent upon his being a Londoner, of Welsh and English parents, or Protestant upbringing, of Catholic subscription.

The word *Anathemata* means both something dedicated and something accursed; both profane things made holy, and holy things fallen under a curse. Of such is made up the human world and its cultural deposits. The Christian *mythus* runs through the poem which is, nevertheless, religious only in the sense in which all the greatest human art has always been religious. The figure of the Christ-Taliesin (never named) has travelled towards the "unabiding omphalos" of time—the Incarnation—from the geological beginnings:

> How else from the weathered mantle-rock
> and the dark humus spread
> (where is exacted the night labour
> where the essential and laboring worm
> saps micro-workings all the dark day long
> for his creatures of air)
> should his barlies grow
> who said
> I am your Bread?

It is axiomatic that the function of the artist is to make things *sub specie aeternitatis:* "True, but the works of man unless they are of 'now' and of 'this place' can have no 'forever'." It will be seen that David Jones' conception of tradition is akin to that of T. S. Eliot; yet with a difference, for the poet, he says, "must work within the limits of his love. There must be no mugging-up, no 'ought to know', or 'try to feel'; for only what is actually loved and known can be seen *sub specie aeternitatis.*" David Jones' scholarship is the eclecticism of love, and as such is quite inimitable.

Such is the paradox of our time that the more a poet draws on an objective cultural tradition, the less on personal experiences, the more obscure he will seem. It is important to realise that neither *The Waste Land* nor the *Cantos* nor even *Finnegans Wake* is obscure chiefly because its author refers us to some subjective or private world, but for the opposite reason. All these works, and *Anathemata* likewise, assume a common fund of traditional culture. The fact that a few anywhere in the world any longer possess such a culture does not invalidate such poetry. If *Lycidas* were to be published now its allusions would not only be called "obscure" but "personal" and possibly even "subjective" as well. Anybody's dreams are today more likely to be understood, even in England, than an allusion to Bede's or Caesar's history of that country, or a reference to the gods of the Druids, or for that matter to the Christian liturgy.

Mr. Jones is acutely aware of the difficulties of communication in this "late and complex phase of a phenomenally complex civilization," of the "unshared backgrounds" that make a Babel even among those who speak the English language. Yet it would not surprise me to learn that in America, where the problem is even more acute than in England, there will be more serious students of contemporary poetry who are prepared to follow David Jones down this history-path than in England. English as *Anathemata* is—English tradition is indeed its theme—it is not a more difficult work than the *Cantos;* also there are plenty of foot-notes about obscure gods and historians. It may be that such poetry as this can only exist in the lengthening shadows of a civilization; and David Jones seems to me the only writer to have adopted Joyce's allusive method from the same sense of man's place in history as Joyce himself possessed. (Most imitators of Joyce have imitated the accidents of his style without sharing his historical sense.) The only alternative to this allusive method would seem to be the complete rejection of tradition in favor of timeless natural symbols, poetry of a kind that Dylan Thomas writes well, but whose scope is limited. It may come to that; but *Anathemata* is the proof, if proof were needed, that the technique perfected by Joyce is proper to this time, and in no sense a personal and unrepeatable literary tour-de-force.

KATHLEEN RAINE

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GADFLY AND CONSCIENCE

RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY; by Eric F. Goldman (Knopf; $5).

THIS BOOK has the ambitious purpose of tracing the history of liberalism in the United States since the Civil War, not so much in a biography of men and events as in one of ideas. The writer is associate professor of history at Princeton University. The book has been some time in the making; it shows evidence under a lively façade of painstaking research, its notes and bibliography are thorough and it brings the reader down finally to the threshold of the Eisenhower Era without too much of a bump. It is stimulating to read and makes a good reference book.

This reviewer is a little perplexed by the study because through it all he is never quite sure what a "liberal" is. Was a liberal a man who tried to defeat Senate ratification of the League of Nations in 1919? One recalls, rather embarrassingly, that the fight against ratification brought a weird alliance between *The New Republic* and *The Chicago Tribune*. Mr. Goldman brings up these controversies and discreetly points out the ideological turmoil they caused. He shows some discomfort himself over this problem of defining "liberal;" he devotes a preface to the matter and occasionally alternates the use of the word "liberals" with "reformers"—which gets him over some of his difficulties. Mr. Goldman himself is a liberal, too, and associates himself satisfactorily with most of the great movements discussed though he is objective and intelligent in pointing out the occasional inconsistencies and wrong-headedness of ardent leaders. It seems, sometimes, as though it were hard to tell whether a man is a liberal until he has been dead 50 years. Indeed in this respect the history is highly provocative and should produce earnest soul-searching in the right quarters.

Take the start of the New Deal. Mr. Roosevelt did not bother much with theory and scrambled together two liberal traditions, that of protecting the individual from Big Business and government, and that of enlisting Big Business and government to aid the individual. Mr. Roosevelt put the first job under men like Hopkins and Tugwell and the second under the redoubtable Hugh Johnson and the NRA. This made quite an omelette of liberal ideas, as Mr. Goldman quietly suggests; an omelette that began unscrambling itself even before the Supreme Court stepped in.

Two fundamentals of the American reform movement at least have been accepted past peradventure Mr. Goldman concludes—the responsibility of government at home to do something about social welfare and the underprivileged, and secondly, the responsibility of government to participate actively abroad in a collective-security system and to fight, if necessary, to halt aggression.

"For almost a century," adds Mr. Goldman, "the modern American reformer has been the gadfly and the conscience, to a large extent the heart and mind, of the only nation in man's history which has dared to live by the credo that any individual's rendezvous with his destiny is a rendezvous with a better tomorrow." RICHARD STROUT

BACKWARD AND FORWARD

AFTER READING Cecil Smith's *Worlds of Music* (Lippincott; $5), one—at least this one—is tempted to write a pontifical diatribe on the old theme *What is Wrong with American Music*. Mr. Smith's book, written in the charming, sunny style that was familiar to *New Republic* readers for many years, is concerned with different aspects of what he calls "serious" music in American culture. Smith's main interests are with concert managements, touring performers, opera in its grand phase, and the Maggie-and-Jiggs audience; in short, with music as a big business. As such, it is a very sordid mess indeed.

Everyone knows that music is not a lucrative profession. At any time, only a few people can live well from their professional earnings as composers or as performing soloists. In spite of this, it is amazing to see the number of young people who every year, at the end of a long and expensive training, try to break into professional life. The extent to which they generally fail is merely recorded by Smith.

His explanation is an inadequate, largely aesthetic one:

> The climate of American musical life is less conducive to artistic maturity than that of Vienna or Paris, or even London. For this the lack of a long tradition largely accounts. . . . The fault lies not with the musicians but with a society too new in the ways of music and too removed from the sources we ordinarily consider the most valuable.

As for success, Smith takes an equally black view:

> The creation of a suitably streamlined-platform personality is, as we have seen, a matter of prime importance in the nation-wide commerce of music. . . . Satisfactory artistry in and of itself is only the beginning. It is the manner of presentation that makes the difference between an enthusiastic reception and a polite one.

It is true that some young American musicians who have established themselves in the first rank are excellent showmen—Leonard Bernstein, Robert Shaw and several of the opera singers are among them. Others—most conspicuously, the members of the Juilliard Quartet—are not. Margaret Harshaw, the great new Wagnerian soprano, is a rather mediocre actress. Certainly stage presence is not a matter of "prime importance" at the top.

The notion that we represent a reprobate part of the human whole on the matter of a cultural tradition, however, is more serious. No one would be careless enough to imply that our poets are inferior to their European contemporaries, or to give the Atlantic Ocean as a reason for such an inferiority, if it could be said to exist. But in music, there seems to be a surviving belief, much more widespread than I had thought, that musicality topples overboard someplace in the middle of the sea, or at least that it cannot survive a single generation in these hostile parts. Chauvinism is bad enough in that pure form which finds good only in one's own compatriots; but when it is inverted, as in this instance, it becomes intolerable. Most Town Hall debutants are not good enough to compete with Serkin and Casadesus. Some of them are. The reason, very simply, is that talent of the highest order is rare.

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Smith observes, correctly, that in the desperate competitive market place New York is, superior talent may be neglected or lost. For this unpleasant fact we may thank our educational system. Most of our music educators, knowing that a small talent can miraculously grow into a large one, are not willing to risk the moral responsibility of having discouraged something which was, perhaps, potentially great. Such generosity becomes, in effect, a cruel sentimentality, when it crowds the profession with thousands of unwanted persons, most of them relatively unskilled and unlearned.

Smith expresses a reasonable concern for the condition of the standard repertory, the *sine qua non* of big business music. As he says,

> Dvorak's New World Symphony has virtually dropped out of the repertory. . . . How much longer the Brahms and Tchaikowsky works will last is anybody's guess . . . [but] it is impossible to say that contemporary composers are producing a sufficient number of masterpieces to replace all the older works that die.

If this is true (and I suspect that it is), can't it be read as the handwriting on the wall? If the older works were really undebatable masterpieces, would they be dying? I suspect that we have reached a much higher level of musical sophistication than anyone cares to admit, in which case, big business music will have to follow its weary repertory to the grave.

In his very fancy and popular new book *Ten Operatic Masterpieces* (Scribner's; $10), Olin Downes includes two works which, ten years ago, would have seemed unthinkable: *The Love of Three Oranges* and *Wozzeck*. Neither of these works has attained the undebatable status which Mr. Smith finds necessary for the continuation of a standard repertory. That so shrewd an observer as Downes should include them in his anthology is a sign of the times, gratifying to many of us.

Homer Ulrich's book *The Symphony: Its Evolution since the Renaissance* (Columbia; $4.25) is also, despite its many other excellences, a symptom of the change in our intellectual climate. Ulrich's book is acceptable to the scholar, but it seems to speak to (and, perhaps, for) the music layman. It is the best popular book of its kind that I have seen, containing a vast amount of reliable information that is not easily accessible elsewhere, but assuming at its outset a taste for Mr. Smith's "undebatable masterpieces." Ulrich devotes almost two-thirds of his book to the Classical and Romantic periods, but does not confine himself to the works we have been taught to think of as "immortal." He has done in words what Thomas Scherman's Little Orchestra does in sound in giving the public easy access to the unfamiliar. In discussing modern and pre-Classical music, Ulrich is good; I think not good enough, but, fortunately, there are more exhaustive books available to anyone who is stimulated by Ulrich into a more thorough examination of earlier and more recent periods.

Paul Hindemith's *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Yale; $2), a brief eulogical speech expanded to booklet size by large type, wide margins and copious illustrations for reasons that I don't seem to understand is, nonetheless, a handsome statement of that attitude toward the High Baroque which conditions the contemporary performance of that music, at least outside the Landowska-Schweitzer orbit. The work has, of course, to do with the meaning of Bach's music as well as the style in which it is cast and the manner in which it can most comfortably be performed and heard. For Hindemith, the meaning is a moral matter which transcends the value and beauty of the sound itself. Hindemith implies (and I wonder if this is his intention) that music can be better than it sounds.

Thomas Morley, writing at the end of the 16th century, thought that "As for musick, the principal thing we seek in it is to delight the ear." Morley, of course, wrote before there were any undebatable masterpieces, before there was any grand manner, and before music had been arbitrarily divided into the serious and the light. His technical criterion was rigid, his aesthetic wonderfully flexible. And the ear, which he sought to delight, is anything but a standardized article now. But Morley's recently re-issued *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Musicke* (Norton; $7.50) makes us wonder how we ever allowed ourselves to be lured from the pleasures of music, which are essentially very direct and very simple, into the solemnities of the standard repertory. The delight that Morley offers—to the mind as well as the ear—is obviously not available to the expensive, uncomfortably dressed audiences who tolerate two hours of Chopin Etudes and whatnot, their boredom mitigated by only one cigarette. As Cecil Smith says, "we need to learn to hiss." ROBERT EVETT

THE TIE THAT BINDS

YOUR MARRIAGE AND THE LAW, by Harriet F. Pilpel and Theodora Zavin (Rinehart; $3.95).

NO BRANCH of the law has a more intimate impact upon the individual than that dealing with his marriage and his family life. Yet the governing rules constitute a maze of contradictions, inequities and antediluvian concepts. And superimposed on that maze are the artificial boundaries of the forty-eight states, each one of them possessing its own version of the law. Small wonder, then, that one state may decree a divorce while another still considers the individuals as legally married.

Out of this welter of confusion the authors of *Your Marriage and the Law* have attempted to bring a substantial measure of enlightenment. Their approach has been three-pronged. They have given to husbands and wives and to parents and children some understanding of their rights and duties as such. They have provided marriage counselors and other non-legal advisers with a comprehensive bird's eye view of the legal problems that can arise from the marriage and family relationships as to which consultation is sought. And, perhaps most importantly, the authors have aimed to open the eyes of all readers to the need for major reforms in the field of marriage and family law. Many of the existing statutes in this category bear little relationship to modern conditions and mores. They often represent little more than the hyphenated viewpoints of pressure groups. Once written into law, such viewpoints of pressure groups

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tend to harden into ironclad rules that can be shaken only by an aroused and perceptive public.

The authors, both of whom qualify as lawyers and mothers, have written a book that admirably achieves its three objectives. It is lucid, intelligent and modern. It is illuminated with an array of pertinent case histories culled, for the most part, from actual court decisions. It sympathetically treats, with the legal consequences of them, domestic tragedies that daily becloud the lives of countless people. If the public will absorb the informed understanding which this book affords, there can be a real hope of rooting out the present confusion and equating the law of domestic affairs to modern social conditions.

EUGENE GRESSMAN

HISTORY FOR WHOM?

AMERICAN HISTORY AND AMERICAN HISTORIANS, by H. Hale Bellot (Oklahoma; $4).

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, by Harry J. Carman and Harold C. Syrett (Knopf; $15).

THE POPULARIZATION of history without condescension or vulgarization is an ever-present problem for the historian: one which fortunately is increasingly being approached with gravity by serious members of the profession. Not the least important challenge to the trained, informed and literate historian is filling the vacuum into which the untrained, the semi-informed and the glib are so eager to rush.

The specialist can claim, with a large share of truth, that his researches will trickle down to the popularizers and in the slow, osmotic process of general scholarship raise the level of information and enlightenment for the lay reader. Were he to attempt to popularize, he will argue concurrently, the result would be useless to his scholarly colleagues and unreadable to those whose reading of history is conditioned by "historical" fiction.

But to confine ourselves to American history and cite but two examples, Charles Beard and Carl Becker laid aside momentarily their archival studies to write for the student beginner and the common reader their fine general works, the reading of which may have led more than one layman to the heady wine of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* or *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers.*

Mr. Bellot, an English student of American history, has written almost entirely for his colleagues; regrettably so since, when not encumbered by footnotes and bibliography, he displays both the sense and wit that has characterized so much British writing about us from Mrs. Trollope to Alastair Cooke. But, characteristic of the specialist, although he refers to the "scholarly" works of Beard and Becker, their "popular" works receive no mention. At best, *American History and American Historians* can only be described as "Indispensable to the student."

On the other hand, the Carman-Syrett massive two-volume *History of the American People* is designed for students on the college level, although its exorbitant detail and formidable bibliographies make it practicable only for those in the most advanced stages of graduate study. Even the "selected bibliography for class assignments" carries the student well beyond the "undergraduate level," unless the students of Professors Carman and Syrett at Columbia University are markedly more able and industrious than those I have encountered elsewhere. Provided one did not have to pass an examination on the text and suggested readings of this book, it affords a well organized, balanced, non-theoretical account of the subject for the reader with some general knowledge of the outline of American history. It has attempted interpretation from an approach the authors describe as "eclectic;" which definition means to them "a succession of different interpretations rather than . . . the same interpretations for a succession of events [which] reflects our conviction that every historical event is unique." This comes dangerously close to an eclecticism of the eclecticism, but fortunately the practice of the book does not always follow the theory of the preface. GEORGE MAYBERRY

DIPLOMACY EXAMINED

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY: *Its Organization and Control*, by W. Y. Elliot, Mc George Bundy, G. F. Kennan, D. K. Price, A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Columbia; $3.75).

REACTING vigorously against *descriptive* studies of the American political system, this group report of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation examines the adequacy of our Constitution and structure of government—products of the 18th century—to the demands of global crisis. Then, perceiving that public policy is born of assumptions concerning human nature, the report contends that historically ours ignore "determinant evil" and that we consequently fail to accurately estimate brutalitarian regimes.

A nation's foreign policy under conditions of national survival might be described as the struggle between its "spirit" (its cultural heritage, including its concept of the whole and good life for all men) and its "fate" (the circumstances of its time in terms both of power and of challenge to its values). If we then concede that a culture based upon the concept of individual freedom and one based upon that of individual slavery are finally irreconcilable, the historical failure of a nation to face the "power element" in the world, and to guarantee its own strength as the only neutralizing factor, is both grave and portentous. Equally so is that nation's failure to organize its political system so as to present a continuous, if flexible foreign policy before undertaking world-wide responsibility.

While delving into both causes and correctives the report irresistibly tends to define political decision as finally moral decision, and to assert that such decisions should be based not on loyalty to petty interests or on excessive specialization but upon the widest possible information and experience interpreted by far-ranging wisdom. The implication is inescapable—in our tight and troubled world, politics has become far too serious to be defaulted to pressured politicians; it now demands the attention of such minds as have synthesized our sciences, consolidated our philosophies, and fused our poetry. TOM FITZSIMMONS

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

STALIN, by Nickolaus Basseches (Dutton; $4.75).

TENACIOUS, astute, unscrupulous and conservative—so Nikolaus Basseches describes Joseph Stalin. But adjectives do not bring a man to life. And this book fails to help us understand why certain general forces engendered particular characteristics in one man. The effort to present a living personality and to discover its sources is dissipated into generalities by timidity and lack of specific information. Not biography then, this work sketches Stalin's implementation of Bolshevism. There is a Tolstoyian attempt to show Stalin chasing his career, but the author shows little understanding of that theory of history and nowhere justifies its application.

As history the work is also defective. Aiming for biography, the author neglects the historian's careful documentation and analysis.

There is information here, but author and translator co-operate to make the book all but un-readable. Dead English and clumsy sentences are the translator's contribution; endless repetition, self-defeating qualifications, un-controlled digressions, and startling contradictions indict the author. T. F.

MAN AND EPIDEMICS, by C.-E. A. Winslow (Princeton University Press; $4).

MOST AMERICANS cheerfully take it for granted that their supplies of food and water will be pure and that their communities will be well guarded against typhoid, typhus, malaria, yellow fever, bubonic plague and other diseases. They forget that there are great areas of the earth's surface where the safeguards we enjoy are largely lacking; and they forget, too, how recently these safeguards have come to exist in our own country.

This story is put into its proper perspective by Dr. Winslow, professor emeritus of public health at the Yale Medical School. He tells, in brief summary, how we have got as far as we have, and shows the staggering job that still needs to be done to bring the backward regions of the world up to even minimum standards. As he emphasizes, one of the valuable aspects of the United Nations (though so little is heard about it) is the beginning it has made, through the World Health Organization, at controlling disease in those areas where aid is most needed. B. B.

THE LIFE AND GOOD TIMES OF WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, by John Tebbel (Dutton; $4).

LONG BEFORE his death, W. R. Hearst had become an American legend like Paul Bunyan, and this legend is still growing (though there are signs that it is beginning to fade as well). Mr. Tebbel's book is as careful and conscientious a portrait as Hearst is likely to get, without visible bias for or against the subject, and therefore one that necessarily helps to cut the publisher down to life size. Just who wants to read another biography of him it is hard to say; possibly Mr. Tebbel may find an audience among the 31,000 men and women who, he says, were on Hearst's payroll. At any rate, those still interested in "the Lord of San Simeon" will find this book a competent report, with all the old stories and some new ones. B. B.

THE COMPLETE STORIES OF W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM (Doubleday; $12.50).

AS JAMES AGEE once observed, 'there are two main kinds of life in art. The warmer, richer kind comes, invariably, from the kind of artist who works from far inside himself. For the other kind, we can thank the good observer.'

Somerset Maugham has always been a good observer. In these ninety-one stories he ranges easily, if shallowly, over a variety of scenes and psyches which a deeper, more compulsive writer could never have managed. At his least, as in a story like "The Three Fat Women of Antibes," he is diverting, and it would be snobbish to underestimate him. At his best, as in stories like "His Excellency" or "Winter Cruise," he suggests that his dark angel intended him to do more than observe, but that for some reason he never allowed himself to take the risk. And what makes his work moving, if not permanent, is the fact that those same few stories also reveal how deeply he knew this, and suffered for it.

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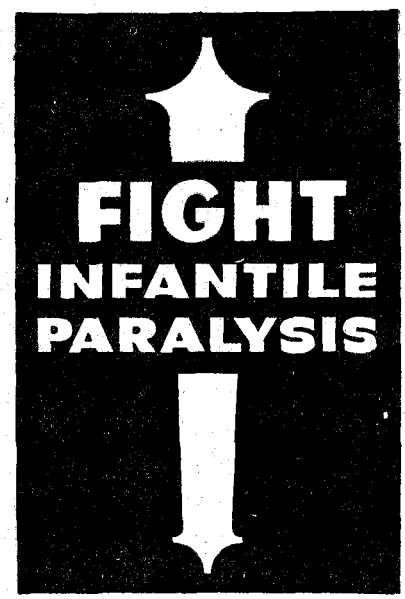

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